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19 August 1982

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 327



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# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI' RAPS DENG XIAOPING'S ATTITUDE TOWARD U.S.

OW040903 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 Aug 82

[Text] The U.S. Government leaders' recent actions have fully exposed the ugly faces of these imperialists and the essence of their policy of opposition and hostility to China. However, somebody in the party Central Committee is attempting to confuse public opinion by saying that only a small handful of diehards in the United States are harboring hostility toward our country and that only some powerless and uninfluential super-conservatives in that country are making trouble. The apologist turns a blind eye to the Reagan administration's open two-China policy obviously to absolve himself from the responsibility for the erroneous policy of associating China with the United States.

However, facts speak louder than words. U.S. President Reagan has bluntly announced that he will personally take up the matter of Taiwan's security. He also has agreed that the U.S. departments concerned should continue cooperation with the Kuomintang in manufacturing F-5E planes and other modern weapons. Newly appointed U.S. Secretary of State Shultz has openly declared that no matter how Beijing will protest, the United States will continue to provide Taiwan with arms. U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger has overbearingly clamored that if Taiwan's security is threatened, the U.S. 7th fleet will immediately sail into the Taiwan Strait to carry out its mission. They could not have spoken more clearly. Obviously, the persons in power in the United States are more forcefully pursuing a two-China policy.

But regretfully, despite these circumstances Comrade Deng Xiaoping chooses not to openly, formally and severely denounce the U.S. Government's anti-China policy and merely talks about the provocative actions of a few anti-China elements in the United States. We cannot help ask: Are persons such as Reagan, Shultz and Weinberger a small handful of persons not in power? Of course, they are not. It is precisely these imperialists and hegemonists who are holding the real power in the U.S. Government. It is precisely these persons who are openly implementing a two-China policy. Formally, they maintain diplomatic relations with our country; in reality, they are executing an anti-China policy.

We can, therefore, say that Comrade Deng Xiaoping is apologizing for U.S. leaders in order to cover up his mistakes in foreign policy, in particular, in seeking association with the United States. He is multiplying his mistakes by misleading public opinion and poisoning people's minds. Only by exposing and resolutely opposing the U.S. chieftains' anti-China policy can we effectively defend our sovereignty and the national dignity of our people.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

TAIWAN TO EASE IMPORTS BAN--Taipei, 23 Jul (KYODO)--Taiwanese Premier Sun Yun-Hsuan has said Taiwan will begin soon lifting a ban on imports of more than 1,500 Japanese consumer goods stage by stage. Sun gave the pledge Thursday when he conferred with Masumi Esaki, former Japanese minister of international trade and industry, for the second time since his arrival here last Monday at the head of a trade mission from the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. He told Esaki, chairman of the LDP's Special Committee on External Economic Relations, Taiwan would gradually lift the ban in the near future, based on the principle of free international trade. The Taipei government imposed restrictions on 1,533 consumer goods, including video tape recorders, cosmetics and food, last February in retaliation for Japan's failure to respond favorably to Taiwan's repeated calls for effective measures to narrow its swelling trade deficit. Informed sources said the lifting of the ban will begin next month. The Esaki mission was scheduled to leave here for home Friday. [Text] [OW230049 Tokyo KYODO in English 0021 GMT 23 Jul 82]

CSO: 4000/170

PARTY AND STATE

YICHUN CITY CADRE CRIMINAL CASE NOTED

'Shocking' Bribery

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Yang Desan [2799 1795 0005], staff reporter: "Zhang Jiwei's [1728 4949 0251] Serious Bribery and Corruption Case Implicates Leading Cadres; Provincial Party Committee Places Assistant Secretary Zhang Mingxuan [1728 2494 6513] of Yichun Municipal Party Committee and Vice Mayor Zhang Chengguo [1728 2052 0948] of Yichun City on Suspension for Investigation"]

[Text] 16 Jun--Today, Xinhua Press published, with an editorial note, a report on the arrest of Zhang Jiwei and the suspension and investigation of Zhang Mingxuan and Zhang Chengguo. The following is the full text of the editorial note:

The bribery case of Zhang Jiwei, former assistant chief of Reception Section, Harbin office of Yichun city people's government, Heilongjiang province, is most shocking. Zhang Jiwei utilized lumber allocation and transfer orders to wantonly demand and accept bribes, and the orders were issued by his father and granduncle serving in leadership positions of the municipal party committee and the municipal government. The three of them acted in collusion, utilizing their power for private gain. Such conduct in violation of party and government discipline and state law has seriously disrupted the socialist economy and damaged the prestige of the party and the people's government.

The case has again demonstrated the necessity and urgency of cracking down on the serious criminal activities in the economic realm. Incidents of this type and other serious criminal economic activities which are detrimental to the state must be earnestly handled, absolutely not to be left unchecked. Otherwise, our cadre ranks and our socialist economy will suffer even heavier losses.

The serious case of bribery and corruption with Zhang Jiwei as the principal uncovered last March in Yichun city implicates Zhang Mingxuan,



assistant secretary of the municipal party committee and vice mayor, and Zhang Chengguo, standing committee member of the municipal party committee and vice mayor. The provincial party committee has decided to place them on suspension for investigation.

According to investigation by the organ concerned, since June 1979, Zhang Jiwei successively used 12 lumber allocation and transfer orders issued by his father Zhang Mingxuan and granduncle Zhang Chengguo to obtain 1,710 cubic meters of lumber and, after reselling it in collusion with other criminals, demanded and accepted bribes amounting to more than 40,000 yuan. In addition, under the pretext of repairing his own residence, he illegally obtained 3,000 plus yuan by all kinds of means; under the pretext of buying a house and by going through the back door, he obtained by trickery 3,000 yuan of public funds, secretly transferred it to the bank account in his father-in-law's unit and took the whole sum in cash for his personal use.

Two of the lumber orders used by Zhang Jiwei to obtain bribes, totaling 170 cubic meters, were personally made out and handed to him by his father Zhang Mingxuan.

The people's reports of Zhang Jiwei's extravagance were heard by Zhang Mingxuan; the expensive articles displayed in Zhang Jiwei's house were seen by Zhang Mingxuan. Some old comrades also warned Zhang Mingxuan about the way Zhang Jiwei "spent money like water." Nevertheless, all these failed to arouse Zhang Mingxuan's serious attention.

Zhang Jiwei confessed that, in the past 2 years, he gave Zhang Mingxuan's family money and goods totaling 1,000 plus yuan.

Three days prior to the arrest of Zhang Jiwei, Zhang Mingxuan, passing through Harbin on a business trip, went to Zhang Jiwei's residence and had a secret conversation with his son. According to Zhang Jiwei's account, his father suggested that he refuse to admit any wrongdoing and that he transfer the 8,000 yuan of bribes; his father also endorsed the idea of shifting the blame on his accomplices.

That evening, Zhang Jiwei transferred a large amount of cash from his aunt's house and sent his wife to Yichun city to form a pact with an accomplice to shield each other.

According to Zhang Mingxuan, he was aware of the fact that Zhang Jiwei, through his father-in-law, once obtained by trickery 33,000 yuan in cash in Yichun city and that, in another instance, accepted 8,000 yuan in bribe.

However, this leading cadre of the municipal level who had worked for the revolution for more than three decades failed to report such serious matters to the organization before Zhang Jiwei's arrest.



When the principal leading comrades of the Yichun municipal party committee, on behalf of the provincial party committee, interviewed him, Zhang Mingxuan actually claimed that he "always struggled arduously" and "raised his children strictly."

After his suspension for investigation, Zhang Mingxuan refused to admit that he covered up for his son and that he concealed the facts. Only after repeated critical education by the leading comrades of the Yichun municipal party committee did he preliminarily admit giving the lumber orders to his son and the gist of their secret conversation.

According to investigation, 9 of the lumber orders used by Zhang Jiwei to obtain bribes, totaling 1,540 cubic meters, were made out by Zhang Chengguo. All the lumber in question was for the use of the enterprise itself.

According to the responsible person in charge of the lumber allocation and transfer of the city, the lumber for the use of the enterprise itself, as a rule, is not permitted to be sold to outside areas; any sale must go through the proper bureau by order of the vice mayor in charge, and thereafter is handled according to the proper procedure.

Nevertheless, Zhang Chengguo who joined the revolution in 1945 and worked successively in forest areas for more than a decade claimed that he "did not know that lumber for the use of the enterprise itself was not permitted to be shipped out." Without going through the proper vice mayor and bureau and section chiefs, he directly sent the orders to a staff member who then issued the allocation and transfer orders to Zhang Jiwei. It was highly irregular.

The sale of lumber for the use of the enterprise itself followed the unified pricing of lumber allocation and transfer in the state plan, which was 130 yuan per cubic meter (now abolished) cheaper than the stipulated price under negotiated sale and of superior quality. Therefore, it was hard to obtain and coveted by those engaged in reselling. With one of the allocation and transfer orders issued by Zhang Chengguo, involving 200 cubic meters of lumber for the use of the enterprise itself, Zhang Jiwei demanded a bribe of 8,000 yuan for the one order alone. Computed according to the average income per capita of staff-worker families in Yichun city, the amount is equivalent to the 1981 annual income of 32 persons.

Reportedly, the units concerned are continuing their investigations of Zhang Mingxuan and Zhang Chengguo.

Six other accomplices in the serious criminal case disrupting the economy have been arrested by local organs concerned according to law.

'RIBAO' Commentary on Case

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Continue to Intensify the Struggle"]

[Text] Last April, this paper published a report on the serious bribery and corruption case of Zhang Jiwei [1728 4949 0251] uncovered in Yichun city. It has now been discovered that the case implicates Zhang Mingxuan [1728 2494 6513], assistant secretary of the municipal party committee and vice mayor of Yichun city, and Zhang Chengguo [1728 2052 0948], standing committee member of the municipal party committee and vice mayor. The provincial party committee promptly took action and placed them under suspension for investigation, creating the condition for the thorough investigation and earnest handling of the case. It was another momentous breakthrough in the effort of Yichun city to crack down on serious criminal economic activities and a great encouragement to the broad cadres and masses taking part in the struggle.

The struggle against the degeneration and deterioration of Communist Party members and government personnel centering on serious criminal activities in the economic realm has been underway for more than 3 months throughout the province and great achievements have been made. However, in terms of the goal of struggle and the actual conditions in the various areas and various units of our province, the tasks hereafter remain long-term and arduous, calling for our relentless effort to make the struggle more thorough.

Judging from the Zhang Jiwei case investigated and handled by Yichun city, we feel that, to intensify the struggle, the key is in strictly investigating and handling, in accordance with the "Decision" of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, cases involving the personnel of government organs, especially the leading cadres. That the criminal activities of the insignificant Zhang Jiwei could be so serious and outrageous was mainly because those like Zhang Mingxuan and Zhang Chengguo served as his "behind-the-scene backers" and turned on the "green light." The large numbers of economic crimes uncovered in other areas and units have also proved that many major criminal economic cases often involve government personnel and some few party members who have "signaled their assent, given the word and rendered a hand." To thoroughly investigate the essentials of the major cases, issues involving government personnel must be clarified. It is so in terms of the needs of case handling, and it is even more so in terms of safeguarding the socialist economy and combating capitalist corruption. The economic lifeline and large assets of the state are in the hands of its personnel. Once some among them, hit by the bourgeois sugarcoated bullet, degenerate and deteriorate, and follow the road of crime, it will not only cause serious economic losses to the state and the people and disrupt the socialist economic order, but also damage the prestige of the party and the government among the masses and corrupt the party style and social mores. Therefore, the earnest investigation and handling of the criminals constitute a key link in making the struggle more thorough.

When continuing to intensify the struggle, the various areas and various units must examine and summarize the struggle of the previous period and solve the existing problems with a goal in mind. Some areas and units, for instance, have uncovered certain major cases, but the progress of their handling is very slow; in other areas, having encountered some resistance and difficulties in the process of case handling, the personnel feel discouraged, thereby affecting the progress of the work; still other areas have not launched the struggle even now, and the cadre masses lack confidence in the struggle; etc. Meanwhile, all areas should make full use of the uncovered cases as negative lessons and educate the party members and cadres against corruption. They must also examine and summarize the problems found in economic management, take prompt measures, strengthen and improve the operation and management systems and stop the loopholes. In short, all areas and all units must examine the deployment of the struggle in the previous period and clarify what items of work have been performed, what have not been performed, and how to perform the work earnestly and properly in the future.

The system whereby the leading cadres take sole responsibility for case handling introduced in many areas in our province is an important measure to promote the intensification of the struggle. Those areas which have not introduced it should do so, and those which have should continue to perfect it and clarify the requirements on the leading cadres. Some areas, for instance, have proposed that taking sole responsibility of the cases includes investigation and verification, recovery of money and goods, conclusion and disposal of the cases, etc. With clear requirements, the system will be concretized, thereby assuring the intensive and earnest deployment of the struggle.

6080

CSO: 4005/975

## PARTY AND STATE

### KEEPING REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE YOUNG FOREVER STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by Cui Yongsheng [1508 3057 3932]: "Let the Revolutionary Task Be Young Forever"]

[Text] When I was young, I read poems written by William Shakespeare on praising true friendship and love. I remember one of the poems saying that the merging of beautiful youth and pure love can maintain youth forever. Even when one is old, he can see his youth in his offspring. Recently, I read a column "Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young" (RENMIN RIBAO, 18 March 1982 p 4); the author Yang Zhilin [2799 2784 7207] wrote, "Everybody will be old one day. We are old but we cannot let the revolutionary cause age and deteriorate. We should have young comrades be in the leadership posts so the revolutionary cause will be young forever." I sensed that history has already passed by the old comrades. If one is not selfish, one's world is wide. Without the broadmindedness and farsightedness of the proletarian revolutionary, it is impossible to think of "Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young" and doing all one can to promote the cause. "Old Yang does not want an official post in the first place. Secondly, Yang does not seek his personal interests. Thirdly, Yang does not confine his interests to his immediate family. What he thinks about is always the people." Therefore, he thinks of not letting the revolutionary cause age like our biological age. With his actions, Yang exerts his efforts to further nurture and invigorate the cause, "Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young." Conversely, if "selfishness" covers his eyes, if he knows naught of the "Mt Tai" of the revolutionary cause, and if he changes the "three no's" into the "three do's" and always thinks of himself, then not only will he not act, it is likely that the very words "revolutionary cause" will not be granted access to his mind.

There is a song, "A Revolutionary Is Young Forever." This is true of the mental appearance of a real revolutionary. The old horse in the stable still has plenty of spirit left, with ambitions in the faraway lands [of the ambitions of the aged]. However, although morals and achievements are imperishable, how can an old man tirelessly travel over land and water? Anyway, bowing to the pressure of time, an elder's mental appearance is no match for youthful vigor. It is natural to incessantly seek talents to inherit the challenge of the national task. This is also the rule of development of revolutionary endeavor.

It is not wise for the elderly to disregard their advanced ages, but just simply handing down the power fails to achieve the goal of "Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young." The Party Central Committee demands that on-duty comrades consider the selection and training of younger replacements as their most important mission. Concerning this problem, the selected replacements must be trained, and the old comrades should assume the position of trainers to instruct their replacements. There are many teaching principles: First is the teaching of attitude, viewpoint, approach, work and style as Marxist-Leninist. In addition, the trainer should be selfless, with consistency of words and deeds, before he can train a good replacement. There are many approaches in teaching, but the most important is for the trainer to teach by personal example. Comrade Yang Zhilin is selfless, and considers the public interests as his first priority; he is ashamed that the peasants' standard of living has not been really enhanced. Notwithstanding his advanced age and multiple chronic illnesses, he visited the lowest level among the masses for investigation and study by presenting plans and programs. Yang is really a model of an old comrade.

"Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young" is not merely a task of one generation; this is an endeavor to be carried out by generations and generations. The state's working personnel should be revolutionized, intellectualized, and professionalized with timely training of younger replacements. This should be the firm concept of all the party, the armed forces and the nation; this should be prescribed in a system of regulations and rules. A journey of a thousand leagues begins with a single step. Now, old comrades, including Comrade Yang Zhilin, began their first step against the system of life-term posts. Yang is a model, since he gives people hope and strength. I praise Yang by paying respect to him as a member of the masses and by wishing to propagate Yang's ideal of letting the revolutionary cause be perpetually young in spirit.

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CSO: 4005/810



## PARTY AND STATE

### MINORITY CADRES IN XINJIANG TAKE UP LEADING POSTS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by reporter Huang Wenfu [7806 2429 4395]: "A Number of Minority Cadres in Xinjiang Province Take Up Leading Posts--Most of Them Are Middle Aged and Youths and Some of Them Received Higher and Secondary Vocational Education"]

[Text] Since last year, 589 minority cadres were promoted in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region to leading posts in the levels of the autonomous region, prefecture, autonomous prefecture, municipality, county and departments (or bureaus). Among the minority cadres, 4 will occupy posts in the standing committee of the autonomous region party committee, while 110 move into the party and political leading posts of the prefecture, autonomous prefecture, municipality and county. The number of minority cadres promoted accounts for 68.75 percent of all leading posts in the party and political organs of the prefectures, autonomous prefectures, municipalities and counties. Most of these minority cadres are middle aged or youths in the prime of life. Some received higher education or secondary professional education.

In order to select and train minority cadres, during more than a year the Organization Department of the autonomous region party committee repeatedly dispatched work teams to listen to the views of the local population in order to understand the situation in various localities of the region. The standard of excellence both in morality and ability is stressed. According to the requirements of revolutionary spirit, youth and intellectual and professional ability, a group of minority cadres with ability, authority, ideological belief and firm support and strengthening of unity among the nationalities has been promoted to the leading posts. Now in 14 prefectures, autonomous prefectures and municipalities of the autonomous region, 2 nationality cadres move into the posts of secretary of the prefecture and autonomous prefecture party committees, and 13 minority cadres enter into the posts of commissioner, prefecture administrator and mayor. In 85 counties, 14 minority cadres are now in the posts of county party committee secretary; 76 nationality cadres are to serve as county administrators. In addition, 28 nationality cadres are going into the posts of department (or bureau) chiefs of the autonomous region.

The various levels of party committees of the autonomous region pay close attention to training minority cadres; their ideological level and work ability in Marxism are being elevated. Among the recently promoted minority cadres, some were sent

to study in various vocational schools. The various levels of party schools in the autonomous region also regard training of minority cadres as their main mission. After these minority cadres enter leading posts, they work actively to seriously carry out the party's minority policy to make positive efforts to promote Xinjiang's stability and unity, as well as strengthening the organization of various levels of leading posts. At the same time, among various levels of leading posts, the Chinese cadres also enthusiastically support the work of minority cadres.

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CSO: 4005/810



## PARTY AND STATE

### JILIN PROVINCIAL CCP COMMITTEE TO LAUNCH EDUCATION ON PARTY STYLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by reporter Zhang Kaixin [1728 7030 2946]: "Jilin Provincial Party Committee Decides To Launch Education on Party Character, Party Style and Party Discipline To Further and Thoroughly Carry Out the 'Guiding Principle' for a Significant, Better Turn of Party Style"]

[Text] Recently, the Jilin Provincial Party Committee decided to launch this year an educational movement on party character, party style and party discipline among all party members in the province.

Recently, the standing committee of the Jilin Provincial Party Committee convened an extended session to analyze the situations in various levels of party organs in the province and the ideological state of its mass party members. The participants in the session concluded that the various levels of party organs throughout the province and the mass party members had seriously carried out the party's line, direction and policy since the convening of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, as the party's excellent tradition and style were recovering. However, basically the party style has not changed for the better; in some places and departments the problem of incorrect party style is quite serious. The party character of some party members and cadres is not strong; they doubt the party's line, direction and policy. Some of them have contracted individualism in acting selfishly when doing anything. Some of them are not responsible during work, because they shy away from demanding tasks. Some of them do not rely on party organizations and disregard the stated principle; they only rely on personal relationships in dealing under the table. Some of them seek their private interests by using their authority and exploiting public interests for private gain. In addition, they have smuggled and sold products, corrupted others and accepted bribes, stole public property and engaged in other criminal activities. In order to significantly improve the party style, the Jilin Provincial Party Committee decided to launch an educational campaign on party character, party style and party discipline directed at all party members, and in addition formulated specific measures.

The provincial party committee demanded, first of all, thoroughly carrying out the Guiding Principle, and lecturing on the party's glorious tradition and excellent style to instill the good custom of considering the exploitation of the party's

excellent tradition as glorious and the evil style as shameful. At the same time, the party members and cadres are organized to focus on studying documents of "Decisions To Stress Party Character," Chairman Mao's "On Problems of Leadership Methods" and "Anti-liberalism."

The provincial committee demanded that the various departments and units should refer to the practice of seeking out reasons for the actions leading to the evil style in its manifestations and damage, by studying the party documents and raising ideological awareness. Starting by examining the evil style in the economic circles, problems of selfishness by using authority, exploitation of public interests for private gains, smuggling and selling products, corruption and acceptance of bribes have to be realistically solved. In addition, the influence of the capitalist style in the political ideology and the style of bureaucratic mentality and extreme individualism should be examined and corrected. The big cases that cause considerable damage and, in particular, involve responsible cadres should be seriously dealt with in order to learn from experience so that practical reform measures with appropriate rules, regulations and systems can be prescribed.

The Jilin Provincial Party Committee suggested that this time the educational activities and examination of evil style should start from leadership cadres and organizations. The provincial committee, the provincial government and the provincial departments should act as models to conduct, level by level, the inculcation of the party style. The various levels of party committees should stress the leadership of this work to combine the education of party style, correction of evil style and stressing of production.

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CSO: 4005/810

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON LENIN'S VIEW OF STATE ORGANS

HK310600 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Shen Baoxiang [3088 1405 4382]: "We Must Properly Study the Question of State Organs--Reading Notes"]

[Text] In his last essay, Lenin pointed out that "we should work in real earnest to study the question of state organs." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 701) In pointing out this question, Lenin has greatly enlightened us. We are at present carrying out streamlining work. In order to do this great task well, from the point of view of ideology and knowledge, we cannot treat streamlining as an isolated matter, but must treat the construction of state organs as an important subject to be studied conscientiously.

On the question of state organs, Marx and Engels made major expositions in certain of their works. In quite a few of his essays, especially in the last few years of his life, Lenin profoundly studied this question and put forth a series of important principles and measures for streamlining and reforming Soviet state organs. It is doubtless of great significance to take another look at these expositions of the revolutionary teacher.

#### A New Problem Requiring Continuous Study

State organs are formed following the emergence of a state. They continuously change their nature and organizational format in accordance with changes in the nature of the state and the development of society, economics and culture.

In his work "Origins of the Family, Private Ownership System and the State," Engels, on expounding the process of the birth of a state, spoke on the formation of state organs. He pointed out that, compared with the clan system of primitive societies, one important characteristic of the state is its special creation of public power. In order to grasp and exercise this public power, specialist officials are needed. State organs are organs of public power made up of such officials. Engels further pointed out that, in primitive societies, man used simple work assignment methods and established certain bodies to protect his own interests. These organs were the servants of society at the time. After the emergence of the state, these

organs changed from being the tools for implementing the will of the people to being organs which ruled and oppressed the people, from being originally servants of society to being masters of society.

The first state organs were relatively simple. With the development of society and the escalation of class contradictions, state organs grew increasingly larger and more complicated day by day. In works such as "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" and "The Civil War in France," Marx, taking France as an example, carried out a profound analysis of developments and changes in state organs. He pointed out that regimes, where state power was centralized and its organs spread all over the country, originated following periods of monarchical dictatorship and, after the bourgeoisie had been in power, they were made even more complete.

Political tools used to oppress the working class could not be used like political tools to liberate them. "The working class, once in power, could not go on managing with the old state machine." ("The Civil War In France," p 11) That is to say, they had to destroy the bourgeois military and bureaucratic machinery and replace it with a state machinery and management organizations of a proletarian, socialist republic.

In his book, "The State and Revolution," Lenin criticized the fantasy of utopians who thought that immediately after the proletarian revolution, it was possible to dispense with all management organs. He pointed out that new organizations had to be set up to give directions and perform management work. After the October revolution, the newly born Soviet regime set up its own state organs. However, due to the influence of old habits, its preoccupation with the civil war at the time and other objective reasons, it was unable to promptly study and solve the question of the setting up of state organs. Consequently, organizations were overstaffed, management fell into disorder and bureaucratism was rampant. These constituted serious obstacles to its restoring and developing the economy and doing a good job of various items of work.

In October 1922, in a speech given at the Fourth Standing Committee of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, ninth convocation, Lenin sternly pointed out that, as far as the question of state organs was concerned, "it is of special concern to me," "you should all be similarly concerned," and "it is an old question, but it is also always a new one." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 355) Lenin went to great lengths to point out that the question of reforming and improving state organs is not one which can be solved once and for all, but will always be a current one. Why? This is because state organs, being the political superstructure, apart from having to make corresponding changes in accordance with the development of class struggle and the political situation, are also restricted and influenced by economic conditions and the development level of culture. With the development of the economy and the enlargement of state functions, state organs must undergo a corresponding reform and readjustment. On the other hand, with the gradual raising of the people's cultural level, the masses will take greater and greater part in state management day by day. In order to adapt themselves to this situation, state organs must undergo

corresponding changes. Lenin said: "Every step forward and upward that we take in developing our productive forces and our culture must be accompanied by the work of finishing and altering our Soviet system." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 577) Without doubt, this includes reforming and improving state organs.

Since the founding of the PRC, our state organs have, following developments and changes in the situation and tasks, undergone many changes. In order to adapt to the needs of modernization, and in order to develop a socialist democratic system, we should continuously study the question of state organs and promptly carry out the necessary readjustments and reforms.

#### Basic Guiding Principles for Building Socialist State Organs

Certain important expositions of the revolutionary teachers should be understood by us to be basic guiding principles and demands for building state organs. Summed up, there are three main expositions in this area:

1. The state organs of socialist countries should be the "servants of society."

This is one of the most important principles. It makes clear the essential difference between socialist state organs and the state organs of all exploiting classes.

From a slave state to a feudal state and then to a bourgeois state, state organs have always held themselves to be masters of society. This has been a major characteristic of past states.

The Paris commune established truly democratic organs of state power. These organs were made up of workers or workers' representatives. They did not enjoy any privileges whatsoever, but devotedly served the people who were organized into the commune. Such organs were basically different from all state organs of the past. They were the "responsible servants of society." Engels was of the opinion that this was the major characteristic of state power in socialist republics.

Marx and Engels pointed out that we must prevent state organs from changing from being servants of society to being masters of society and that the crux lies in adopting effective measures and reliably preventing state functionaries from "seeking power and [passage garbled]. From the point of view of the state organs themselves, we must first do away with all privileges and secondly eliminate the various types of business expenditures incurred as a result of "work needs" but which in fact constitute special treatment. Lenin pointed out that "it must be made impossible for 'honorable' though profitless posts in the public service to be used as a springboard to highly lucrative posts in banks or joint-stock companies, as constantly happens in all the freest capitalist countries." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 238) Experience has shown that opposing the use of power for private gain by state functionaries, opposing corrupt practices such as bribery and graft and preserving the



basic nature as servants of the people are major questions in the building of state organs in a socialist country and also constitute a long-term task.

2. State organs of a socialist state should truly be a "low-expenditure government."

Marx greatly praised the expenditure-saving measures of the Paris commune. He said: "The commune made the catchword of bourgeois revolutions--low-expenditure government--a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditures--the standing army and state functionarism." ("The Civil War in France," p 58) During the revolution, the bourgeoisie poignantly attacked the extravagance and wastage by feudal rulers and put forth the catchword of setting up a low-expenditure government. However, their government organs were not in fact second to the feudal, bureaucratic organs in expenditures and abundance, but vastly exceeded them. Marx profoundly pointed out: "It is precisely with the maintenance of that extensive state machine in its numerous ramifications that the material interests of the French bourgeoisie are interwoven in the closest fashion. Here it finds posts for its surplus population and makes up in the form of state salaries for what it cannot pocket in the form of profit, interest, rents, and honorariums." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 641-642) This kind of government organ is in fact "a means of adding to the direct economic exploitation a second exploitation of the people." ("The Civil War in France" p 137) Today, this situation is even more prominent. Recently, a short holiday taken by U.S. President Reagan, which lasted only a few days, cost over U.S.\$5 million. Even certain members of the bourgeoisie find such vast administrative expenditure quite intolerable. The "low-expenditure" government is a mere empty catchword with which to beguile the people. Lenin pointed out that "only the proletariat is capable of complying with this demand." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3, p 208)

Judging by the situation today, socialist countries must have a standing army and a considerable number of professional cadres. Expenditures in these two areas are inevitable. However, making great efforts to economize and to cut down on expenditures should become a guiding principle in the building of socialist state organs. Our government should be a truly honest government.

In studying the question of Soviet state organs, Lenin pointed out that "we must reduce our state organs to the utmost degree of economy. We must remove from them all traces of extravagance, of which so much has been left over from czarist Russia, from its bureaucratic capitalist organs." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 711) Among our state organs, traces of the extravagance of the old society's bureaucratic organs are also discernible everywhere. Some are quite serious. This is another major problem which we should conscientiously consider and solve when carrying out reforms on state organs.

3. The state organs of a socialist state should constitute a scientific and efficient organization.

On no account may a socialist state have state organs resembling bourgeois halls for idle talk. All administrative departments should be truly responsible organs. They are required to conscientiously study the questions of a system and organizational setup.

Lenin once conceived the idea of setting up, after the proletariat had seized political power, "management organs of a social nature," like the post office in capitalist states. The essential nature of this was to require the setting up of a work organ that was rational, scientific, and could guarantee high efficiency. After the October revolution, in the course of studying the question of the setting up of Soviet state organs, Lenin pointed out that socialism is the product of large-scale mechanized industry and that if state organs cannot "work in the way that large-scale mechanized industry should work, then there can be no question of introducing socialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 194) Therefore, he stressed the need to "streamline our organizations and improve our setup." Lenin referred to the overstaffing and low efficiency of the organizations. He pointed out that it was necessary to "do away with all organizations which are playthings of a semiaristocratic type" and "all organizations which we can do without for a long time to come and which we should do without." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 419)

State organs are like a complicated machine. How to set them up rationally, how to make them work properly and how to achieve high work efficiency constitute a scientific problem requiring conscientious study.

In short, servants of society, low-expenditure government and scientific efficiency are the principles we should abide by when setting up state organs.

#### State Organs Should Set Up Several Work Systems

Apart from streamlining our organizations, improving our setup, reducing the number of staff and cutting down on the number of personnel, Lenin paid much attention to the working systems of organs. He pointed out that it is necessary to closely consider the question of working systems. The working systems for organs put forth by Lenin consist mainly of the following:

1. Individual responsibility system. This is an important system. Lenin was of the opinion that "at the same time as carrying out collective discussions and decisions, we should resolutely implement an individual responsibility system." In order to clearly define the responsibilities that every person assuming Soviet duties had in relation to the performance of specific tasks and practical work, it was necessary not only to clearly delineate the work and responsibilities of every committee member and responsible person, but also to clearly lay down the responsibilities of personnel carrying out certain entrusted matters. Through this system,



they could thoroughly change the obscure nature of the responsibilities of work personnel in all organs, strengthen their sense of responsibility and initiative and eliminate any tendency to be dilatory and to shirk responsibility.

2. A system for handling official documents. In view of the fact that certain responsible cadres had reached the stage where they were issuing documents at random, talking abstractly about decrees and writing directives in any old fashion, thus drowning invigorating work in a voluminous sea of documents, and some smart idle elements deliberately created a "quagmire of documents," and some high-ranking officials were unconsciously "slipping their head into a hangman's noose," Lenin clearly pointed out that it was necessary to lay down norms for document work, to provide for the best method of handling documents, to enable leading cadres to extricate themselves from the confusion and from the web of discussions and document drafting and, at the same time, to avoid hastily formulated directives.

3. Inspection and supervision of the system. Lenin emphasized that the "inspection of the implementation situation and inspection of the actual effects of work" should become the focal point of the leaders' work. He pointed out that the two vice chairmen of the people's commissariat had to spend at least 2 hours a week "personally inspecting those various parts constituting the upper, medium and grassroots levels of the organizations which were multiformed and which one would have least expected to be inspected." In addition to inspections, "strict supervision" is also necessary. Lenin pointed out that the main task of the minor people's commissariats was to supervise the various people's commissariat ministries, so that they would abide by the law, not shirk their responsibilities, and to check whether their orders and actions were legal, suitable and prompt. The document drafted by Lenin concerning the management work of Soviet organs provided that every Soviet organ had to have a system of accommodating the masses on visits and to provide the masses with all convenient conditions, so as to more effectively expose evil people and evil deeds.

4. A system of reward and punishment. Lenin advocated that, among the Soviet organs, it was necessary to resolutely implement a system of reward and punishment. It was necessary to reward outstanding personnel who worked quickly and who had scored achievements in their work. On the other hand, it was necessary to deal sternly with those who were irresponsible, negligent or committed crimes. Communist Party members who failed to conscientiously study management work were to be dismissed and responsibility for neglect of duty had to be traced and such people punished regardless of rank. As for lawless elements, it was necessary to hand them over to the law courts for trial and severe punishment.

5. Examination system. While studying the reorganization of the workers and peasants inspection council, Lenin went to pains to point out this question. He called for the selection of those with a truly modern standard for work in the organs. Besides checking up on those accepted, it was also necessary, by having them submit to examinations, to see if they understood the basic theory of state organs, if they knew the principles for scientifically organizing labor in general and if they had basic knowledge of such things as administration and the handling of documents.

In considering what work systems should, in fact, be set up for state organs, we must proceed from our country's concrete conditions. However, all these systems put forth by Lenin are undoubtedly important and we should study and refer to them.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI' ON PLA'S ANNIVERSARY, CHARACTER PRESERVATION

OW021120 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 31 Jul 82

[Text] The 1 August Army Day is at hand. On the 55th anniversary of the founding of the People's Revolutionary Armed Force, we salute the heroic PLA commanders and fighters, the older generation of revolutionary fighters who dedicated their youthful years to the people during the revolutionary wars, and the new generation of revolutionary fighters who dedicate their youthful years to the people for the modernization of the army.

From the day of its founding, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has maintained flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people. In the past 55 years, the PLA has made great contributions to the people's liberation and happiness, safeguarding the country's security and independence, and winning the people's love and respect.

Of course, we must also see that in order to usurp military power, undermine the PLA's prestige and discredit its leaders during the cultural revolution, Kang Sheng, the gang of four and company created the so-called Lin-Huang counterrevolutionary clique case. After the downfall of the gang of four, a certain person at the central level further exaggerated the false case created by Kang Sheng and the gang of four and organized a massive attack against principal PLA leaders. In the past few years, tens of thousands more PLA cadres have been purged under the pretext that the PLA participated in the "three support's and two military's" tasks. All this naturally has had a negative impact on the PLA and, to a certain extent, damaged the PLA's image and seriously weakened the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people.

However, no one can deny the fact that, after all, our army has not been destroyed by a handful of conspirators and careerists. It has preserved its character as a people's army. At crucial junctures, it has always stood firmly on the side of the party and the people and defended the interests of the state and the people. This is obvious to all.

However, if it were not for the action of our PLA leading comrades who, supported by all PLA commanders and fighters, bravely stepped forward, took resolute measures and crushed the gang of four at one blow, nothing would have been the same today. It would have been impossible for the tens

of thousands of veteran party comrades, including Comrade Deng Xiaoping, to return and regain political power. Many of them would have met with the same fate as Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Tao Zhu and so on.

It is regrettable that some persons at the central level have tried for a long time and in every possible way to prevent the PLA and its leading comrades from participating in the political activities of the party and state in an attempt to confine the army within the narrow circle of military camps and barracks. On the eve of the convocation of the 12th National CCP Congress, they are anxious to make the most of highly placed and prestigious veteran army comrades, particularly those who are currently members of the CCP Central Committee, the Political Bureau or the Standing Committee of the Military Commission, move to the second or third line, or simply retire so that the proportion of military representatives in the CCP Central Committee and the local party organizations can be reduced to a minimum. In doing so, they not only run counter to the revolutionary tradition of our party and army but also undermine our great national cause.

Since its founding, the PLA has been at once a fighting force, a working force and a propaganda force. Any attempt to change our army's character will be met with the resolute opposition of all PLA commanders and fighters.

On the army's founding anniversary, all PLA commanders and fighters are filled with the confidence to make outstanding contributions as did the older generation of revolutionary comrades and add new glory to the PLA tradition.

CSO: 4005/1146

## PARTY AND STATE

### YANG XIUFENG ADDRESSES LAW SOCIETY 22 JULY

HK280844 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 4

[Speech by Yang Xiufeng [2799 4423 1496] given 22 July at the inauguration meeting of the China Society of the Science of Law]

[Text] **Precis:** The China Society of the Science of Law is a national mass organization devoted to the study of law. The tasks of the society are: Uniting, under the leadership of the party, all jurists of the country to uphold the four basic principles, adhere to the party's guiding principles and policies, actively carry out juristic research activities, actively conduct domestic and international academic exchanges, contribute to the development of Marxist, socialist theories of law and of socialist democracy in China, and contribute to the perfection of the socialist legal system and to the building of socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. In carrying out juristic research activities, we must pay attention to conscientiously upholding the four basic principles, maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee, integrating theory with practice and strengthening investigations and studies. We must also implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. [End of precis]

The inauguration meeting of the China Society of the Science of Law is held at a time when a new PRC constitution will soon be drawn up and when the building of our legal system has entered a new stage of development. The establishment of the China Society of the Science of Law is a great event on our country's political and legal front. The party Central Committee has shown great concern for this. Peng Zhen and Peng Chong, leading comrades of the central authorities; and other leading comrades of the political and legal front have spoken to us at this meeting. We are greatly inspired by these things. As an old soldier on the political and legal front, I am also very glad about these things.

According to the agenda of the inauguration meeting, the meeting will adopt the constitution of the China Society of the Science of Law, elect members of the council of the society, elect an honorary president of the society and proclaim the founding of the society. Following the founding of the Society of Law, the society will extensively unite all jurists of the country, actively carry out juristic research work, actively conduct domestic and international academic exchanges and certainly make due contributions



to the building of the socialist legal system and the study of socialist theories of law in our country.

The course of making preparations and arrangements for establishing the China Society of the Science of Law has already been reported by Comrade Wang Yifu [3769 0001 1133] at the preparatory meeting for the inauguration meeting. I am going to express my views on the work of the Society of the Science of Law.

If we review the history, we can see that the development of the socialist law in our country has advanced along a tortuous road.

Following the founding of the PRC, under the leadership of the party, we abolished the KMT's reactionary legitimacy, regarded Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our guide, criticized the old legal viewpoint of the exploiting class, acted in close connection with our country's reality, initially established the socialist law of our country, organized a team devoted to the study of law and trained a group of qualified legal personnel. All these things played active roles in strengthening the socialist legal system, consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship and guaranteeing a successful building of our socialist revolution and construction. However, due to the erroneous "leftist" influence since the late 1950's, we failed to carry out normal development of the study of law. In particular, during the 10 years of civil strife, due to the sabotage activities carried out by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the legal system was smashed, the science of law was trampled down, and the rights and wrongs concerning a series of important theories of law and the party's policy on political and legal work were confused.

The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was a great turning point of profound significance in the history of our party and our country. The third plenary session reestablished the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines, formulated the strategic decision on shifting the focus of work to socialist modernization and put forward the historical tasks of developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" adopted by the sixth plenary session summed up historical experiences gained since the founding of PRC and completed the courses of setting to rights things concerning the party's guiding ideology which were thrown into disorder. Under the guidance of the party's lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the third plenary session, some distorted and confused theories of law and some distorted and confused principles of the legal system have been gradually clarified, miscarriages of justice, trumped-up cases and misjudged cases concerning jurists have been redressed, and some problems left over by history have been equitably solved. On the basis of historical experience, the whole party and people throughout the country have become increasingly aware of the importance of strengthening the socialist legal system. With the strengthening of the building of the legal system in our country over the past 3 years and more, the study of law has been resumed and developed; many former jurists have returned to the profession they were trained for

and departments for the study of law have been given new [?impetus]; the colleges of political science disrupted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have resumed classes; many universities have established departments of law; many provinces and municipalities have established part-time colleges of law; preparations are being made for setting up the China University of Political Science and Law; there have been marked increases in the number of newspapers, periodicals, and books on the science of law and the legal system and there have also been marked increases in the number of translations of the work on the science of law and the legal system; jurists have actively participated in legislative and judicial work and have also actively participated in publicizing the legal system; some provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have respectively established societies of law and carried out juristic research activities; international academic exchanges regarding the study of law have been gradually promoted; and an unprecedented new atmosphere has emerged among the jurists of our country. However, we must admit that the current state of the legal system of our country is far from meeting the needs of the party and the people, and that the current state of the study of theories of law is far from meeting the needs of the building of the legal system. Compared with the requirements for building a powerful, modern socialist country with a high level of material civilization and a high level of spiritual civilization, our study of law has a long way to go.

The China Society of the Science of Law is a national mass organization devoted to the study of law. The tasks of the society are: Uniting, under the leadership of the party, all jurists throughout the country to uphold the four basic principles, adhere to the party's guiding principles and policies, actively carry out juristic research activities, actively conduct domestic and international academic exchanges, contribute to the development of Marxist, socialist theories of law and the development of socialist democracy in China, and contribute to the perfection of the socialist legal system and to the building of socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization.

In accordance with the aforesaid tasks, I would like to make the following suggestions on activities of the Society of the Science of Law which can be discussed by all participants in this meeting.

1. Actively promoting our juristic research work through the integration of theory and practice should be the central task of this society. We must mobilize all forces within the juristic circles to carry out various forms of juristic research work actively, on our own initiative, in a planned way and in close connection with the actual conditions of the propaganda and educational work concerning legislation, administration of justice and the legal system in our country. The orientations of our research are: 1) Studying major theoretical and actual problems in the current building of the legal system and in the current judicial practice which require immediate solution. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" noted: "It is essential to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, improve the constitution and laws of our country and ensure their strict observance and

inviolability. We must turn the socialist legal system into a powerful instrument for protecting the rights of the people, ensuring order in production, work and life, punishing criminals and cracking down on the disruptive activities of class enemies. The kind of chaotic situation that surfaced in the 'cultural revolution' must never be allowed to happen again in any sphere." Our research work must first of all revolve around the tasks for the building of our socialist legal system. At present, people throughout the country are currently discussing the "draft of the revised constitution;" the civil law is currently being drawn up; and quite a few economic laws and regulations are also currently being drafted. With regard to those laws which have been promulgated and put into practice, we must sum up experiences in putting them into practice so as to perfect them. All these things demand that we play positive roles. 2) Studying the practical experiences in building our revolutionary legal system and making a theoretical summation of the experiences. Our party and country have gained a wealth of both positive and negative experiences in carrying out political and legal work. Quite a few of our practices in the legal system are imbued with successful creative experiences such as combining democracy with dictatorship, combining democracy with the legal system, combining punishment with leniency, carrying out the masses line under the leadership of the party committee, combining the work of special organs with reliance on the masses, reforming criminals into new people through labor and education, having the circuit courts conduct trials, handling cases on the spot, and settling disputes among the people through mediation. All these practices tally with our national conditions, have their own characteristics, and are very effective in real work. Moreover, international juristic circles are attaching greater importance to these good experiences. Our jurists are duty-bound to make a summation of these experiences with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and to systematize and theorize them in order to use them for guiding practical work. 3) Carrying out research on Marxist theories of law is the very important and indispensable capital construction for raising the theoretical level of our study of law and for perfecting the building of our legal system. Because our law researchers were suspended during the 10 years of upheaval, our law research is still a weak link and we must redouble our efforts to strengthen this weak link. 4) Studying historical theories and practices of law in China and foreign countries. We must not shut our eyes and stop up our ears. We must use the beneficial historical and foreign experiences for reference. In studying historical theories and practices of law in China and foreign countries, we must regard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide for our study, base ourselves on the current situation of our country, select the essence and discard the dross, "make the past serve the present" and "make foreign things serve China." We must not worship foreign things, restore ancient ways and copy mechanically in disregard of specific conditions.

2. Carrying out academic exchanges and exchange of friendly visits with juristic circles of other countries. There has been a gradual increase over the past few years in our contacts with juristic circles of other countries. The establishment of the China Society of the Science of Law will provide a new channel for our juristic circles to carry out academic exchanges and exchange of friendly visits with foreign juristic circles. In our contacts with international juristic circles, we must conscientiously



implement our country's line and policies on foreign relations, keep abreast of and study foreign legal systems and the situations of and developments in law research in foreign countries in close connection with the needs of the building of the legal system and the study of law in our country, and learn what is useful to our country. In our contacts with international juristic circles, we must also brief them actively and in a truth-seeking way on the socialist legal system, the situation of socialist law research in our country and our practical experiences in order to promote mutual understanding and friendship and our study of law. We must unite with jurists of all countries to jointly fight against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism, to safeguard world peace and to support the just struggles waged by the people of Third World countries and the progressive cause of mankind.

3. Promoting the work concerning editing, publishing and compiling juristic books and reference materials. At present, our country has made a good beginning in editing and publishing juristic works. However, the juristic periodicals, newspapers, professional journals and books we have published fall far short of meeting the needs of our juristic circles. We must make joint efforts to further carry out work in this field. Collecting and collating books and reference materials are the basis for conducting research work and must be urgently strengthened. We hope that through our joint efforts, we can gradually establish an organization with a rich collection of specialized books to serve our juristic circles.

4. Strengthening contacts and coordination between different juristic organizations. At present, more than half of all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in our country have respectively established their societies of the science of law, and some other areas are currently actively making preparations for establishing their societies of law. We have a common task: Strengthening work contacts and coordination among our organizations and strengthening our regular contacts with our members in meeting the common needs of our undertakings. After this inauguration meeting, we hope that we all can exchange information frequently about work plans and research activities and carry out academic exchanges and coordination in various forms. We always warmly welcome any proposals concerning work of this society and any support given to this society.

Of course, the aforesaid tasks do not comprise all the tasks of the Society of Law. I am not going to list other tasks of the society here.

In order to develop and promote our country's socialist jurisprudence, I would also like to talk about some issues which we should pay attention to during our juristic research activities. Please think them over.

First, conscientiously upholding the four basic principles and maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee. The four basic principles are the common political basis of the unity between the whole party and people throughout the country, the fundamental guarantee of our success in the cause of socialist modernization, and the fundamental guide for conducting juristic research work. There are all kinds of juristic

theories and schools of thought in this world. Our country is a socialist country under the people's democratic dictatorship, and the jurisprudence we want to establish and develop can only be a socialist jurisprudence. Therefore, our juristic research work must regard the four basic principles as their fundamental guide. This will be the fundamental guarantee of achieving a healthy development of our research work along the correct road. Otherwise, mistakes will be made. We must oppose and prevent any trends which deviate from the four basic principles, the political and economic situations and the party's tasks; we must oppose and prevent any trends which set laws against the party's guiding principles and policies, and set handling affairs according to law against the leadership of the party. We must not only continue eliminating the influence of the erroneous "leftist" ideas but must also pay attention to opposing ideas of bourgeois liberalization. Both the ideas of bourgeois liberalization and the erroneous "leftist" ideas endanger our socialist cause. We must wage a struggle on the two fronts, oppose "leftist" and rightist ideas when there are such ideas, seek truth from facts and enable our juristic research work to develop victoriously along the correct orientation.

Second, it is imperative to combine theory with practice and to strengthen investigations and studies. Combining theory with practice is a Marxist style of study and is our inviolable principle for the study of law. Any research on jurisprudence which loses contact with reality does not have vitality. Such research will be detrimental to the building of a powerful socialist modern country. We must face reality, make investigations and studies, closely integrate our research on jurisprudence with the legislative and judicial practices, and closely integrate our research on jurisprudence with the building of our socialist modernization. Comrades engaged in theoretical research work and comrades engaged in practical work must work in close coordination so as to learn from each other and to mutually make up their deficiencies. By doing so our research work will certainly achieve remarkable successes.

Third, implementing the policy on letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. With regard to academic research, there should be free contention among different schools of thought so that comparisons and appraisals can be made. By doing so we can draw on collective wisdom, absorb all useful ideas and pool the efforts of everyone. We must conscientiously implement the "double hundred" policy so as to further enliven the atmosphere of our research and exploration. Of course, the implementation of the "double hundred" policy must not be set against upholding the four basic principles and must regard the upholding of the four basic principles as its prerequisite. The implementation of the "double hundred" policy is also in line with the correct criticism and self-criticism within academic circles. The theories of law are closely related with the party's policies and the state's legal system. With regard to those policies and laws which have been decided by the party and the state, if a person holds differing views, he may continue to hold his differing views but must take action to resolutely implement the policies and laws. No one is allowed to publicly state his views or publish his articles which contradict the party's policies and the state laws. Debating about academic issues and issues that are being discussed in the course of the legislation is allowed and encouraged. However, in conducting such a

debate, one must present the facts and reason things out; convince people by reasoning, uphold practice as the only criterion for testing truth, hold firmly to the truth and correct mistakes. Only by doing so can we avoid discussing academic issues in an oversimplified and blind way and can we benefit from the development and promotion of our socialist jurisprudence. Comrades. Building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations is a very great cause of the people of our country. Our juristic front undertakes arduous and glorious tasks. I hope that after working hard for a period of time, more outstanding Marxist jurists will emerge in our country and a powerful juristic theoretical team will be established. Of course, we old people will continue to do what we can during our remaining years. However, the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak. Our middle-aged comrades are the main force of our ranks and are charged with the important task of carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future; our young comrades are our future. I hope that our middle-aged and young comrades will have lofty ambitions, cherish high aspirations, rally closely around the party Central Committee, work with one heart and one mind, inspire enthusiasm, and exert themselves in the struggle for scoring achievements in developing our socialist jurisprudence, which will be commended by later generations.

CSO: 4005/1146

## PARTY AND STATE

### LECTURES ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

#### Twelfth Lecture

OW240212 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0037 GMT 21 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 21 Jul (XINHUA)--Twelfth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Position and Role of the Individual Economy of Urban and Rural Workers as Stipulated in the Draft Revised Constitution."

The draft has made some new stipulations on the position and role of the individual economy of urban and rural workers and pointed out that the individual economy is a complement to the socialist sector of the economy owned by the public. These new stipulations are in complete accord with the present actual conditions of our country.

Judging from the present status of China's economic development, the existence and development of the individual economy of the working people is very beneficial. The individual economy is conducive to production development. It will increase the wealth of society and individual workers' income, activate the urban and rural economy, promote rural trade fairs and markets, provide a convenience for the masses, create job opportunities for the people and further stability and unity in the society. It will help restore the manufacturing of traditional handicraft art products and food products with local characteristics. It will make the people's life richer and more colorful.

For a considerably long period, the individual economy of the working people cannot be replaced by the economy of the system of ownership by the whole people or the system of ownership by the collectives. The individual economy will continue to exist and develop.

The draft of the revised constitution affirmed that the individual economy is a complement to the socialist sector of the economy owned by the public and that the state will protect its legitimate rights and interests.

Because of the influence of "leftist" erroneous ideology in the past, various places considered the economy of individual workers as a capitalist economy and used the method of "cutting off the vestiges of capitalism" to limit and eliminate the individual economy of the working people. This ran counter to the level of productivity of our society and our country's actual situation. It was totally wrong.

### Thirteenth Lecture

OW271323 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0215 GMT 23 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 23 Jul (XINHUA)--Thirteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Stipulations Contained in the Draft Revised Constitution on Protection of Public Property and Individuals' Lawful Property."

Socialist public property denotes the property owned by the whole people and the property collectively owned by the masses of working people. It is the material source which constantly prospers our socialist state and raises the standard of the people's material and cultural life. It provides a material guarantee for the privileges and freedom enjoyed by the Chinese people. Therefore, the protection of socialist public property is an important question concerning the consolidation and development of the system of socialist public ownership, the safeguarding of socialist achievements and the upholding of the socialist road. It is precisely proceeding from this viewpoint that the draft revised constitution contains an article which explicitly stipulates that socialist public property shall be sacred and inviolable.

In order to emphasize the protection of public property, the draft revised constitution contains the following stipulations: "Ensures the rational use of land, forests, waters and other natural resources," and "all organizations and individuals are prohibited from seizing or damaging, by any method, any state or collective property or any mineral resources, waters, forests, grasslands or other natural resources, at sea and on land."

These stipulations are formulated because the chaos in those 10 years caused serious damage to public property, particularly to land, forests, grasslands and water resources, and created great losses for the country and the people.

While stipulating the protection of socialist public property, the draft revised constitution also stipulates the protection of the right of citizens to own lawful property. The lawful property owned by individual citizens primarily denotes the rewards received by the citizens of China for their participation in social labor. The rewards include the wages for workers and cadres, the income received by peasants based on the workpoints they have earned in the collective, the income received by urban collective workers for their work, the income from private plots of agricultural and hilly land farmed by peasants for personal needs, the income from peasants' family sideline undertakings, the income from livestock kept by peasants for personal needs, the income of individual working people [individual craftsmen and traders], the peasants' tools and farm implements for their own use and the bamboo, trees and fruit trees grown by peasants around their houses.

The article which states that "the state protects the right of citizens to own lawfully-earned income, savings, houses and other lawful property" contained in the draft revised constitution is different from Article 9 of the 1978 constitution, which stipulates "the state protects the right



of citizens to own lawfully earned income, savings, houses and other means of livelihood." The term "lawful property" used in the draft revised constitution includes both the means of livelihood and the means of production. In other words, the state protects whatever is lawfully obtained. Therefore, this stipulation is in consideration of the reality, particularly considering the fact that a small quantity of means of production is possessed by the peasants.

The draft revised constitution has restored the article on the right to inherit contained in the 1954 constitution. The article stipulates: "The state protects, according to provisions of the law, the right of citizens to inherit private property." Citizens have the right to use, possess and dispose of their property according to law because the state protects the right of citizens to own lawful property. Therefore, the right to own property and the right to inherit property are closely related. It is entirely necessary to restore this article in the draft revised constitution.

#### Fourteenth Lecture

OW291121 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0730 GMT 25 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 25 Jul (XINHUA)--Fourteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "How Does the Draft Revised Constitution Define the Relationship Between Planned Economy and Market Regulation?"

Article 17 of the draft revised constitution defines the relationship between planned economy and market regulation. This is a new stipulation contained in the draft revised constitution concerning China's economic system and is a development of the 1978 constitution.

China is a socialist nation. Its means of production are controlled by a system of socialist public ownership. Its production is aimed at gradually improving the people's material and cultural standards and at building socialism. China must develop socialist economy that is planned, and it is possible for China to do so. This is a basic feature showing that socialist economy differs from capitalist economy. To develop planned economy, it is necessary to formulate a plan for the national economy and for social development. Only with such a plan can we mobilize and organize all the people in the country to work hard to fulfill the targets specified by this plan and gradually develop productive forces and build socialism. Article 17 of the draft revised constitution stipulates: "The state plans the national economy on the basis of socialist public ownership." This serves to reaffirm the special feature and superiority of China's socialist economy.

While developing planned economy, it is necessary to correctly understand and handle the relationship between planned economy and market regulation so as to give full play to the supplementary role of market regulation. In formulating plans for the national economy and social development, the state must take into consideration and make use of the law of value.

Efforts must be made to combine the centralized and unified leadership of the state with the enthusiasm of enterprises and bring into full play the role of planned economy and the supplementary role of market regulation so as to further enliven and develop China's economy.

As mentioned before, planned economy is a special feature of socialist economy. In its economic activity, the state must give full play to the superiority of socialist planned economy. It must implement the policy of making unified plans by giving due consideration for all concerned and taking the whole country into account. At the same time, it is necessary to make proper arrangements to correctly handle the relationship between planned economy and market regulation while persistently promoting planned economy. Doing a good job in handling this relationship is aimed at developing the national economy in a proportionate and well coordinated manner. Planned economy should be given top priority. This guideline is unshakable. It is precisely for this reason that Article 17 of the draft revised constitution again stipulates: "All organizations and individuals are prohibited from disrupting, by any means whatsoever, the orderly functioning of the socialist economy or of the economic plans of the state."

#### Fifteenth Lecture

OW291051 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0051 GMT 28 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Jul (XINHUA)--Fifteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Position and Role of Intellectuals as Defined by the Draft Revised Constitution."

Article 21 of the draft revised constitution deals specifically with the question of intellectuals, pointing out that the state, in a planned way, trains intellectuals who service socialism, increases their number and gives full scope to their role in socialist modernization. This provision of the draft revised constitution marks a tremendous improvement in the corresponding provisions in past constitutions, and is of very great significance.

In his explanations on the draft revised constitution, Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out: "Because the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals have become a part of the working class and there are many intellectuals among the peasants, the alliance of workers and peasants includes intellectuals."

What can we see in Article 21 of the draft revised constitution: First, our country is now engaged in socialist modernization and needs to train intellectuals in a planned way. This means that the state attaches importance to the training of intellectuals. Second, it is necessary to increase the number of intellectuals. Third, it is necessary to give full scope to the role of intellectuals in socialist modernization. For a long time, due to the influence of "left" thinking, intellectuals had a low social status. Their work was not given the attention it deserved. Therefore, their role was not given full play. Since the third plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the influence of "left" thinking, which looked



down on intellectuals, has been gradually eliminated, and the position and role of intellectuals have been greatly elevated. However, the problem has not been completely solved. Therefore, we may say that the draft revised constitution is right to put special stress on training intellectuals, increasing their number and giving full scope to the role of existing intellectuals.

#### Sixteenth Lecture

OW021152 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0035 GMT 30 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 30 Jul (XINHUA)--Sixteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "All Citizens Are Equal Before the Law."

The draft revised constitution has restored a number of articles on the rights and duties of citizens in the 1954 constitution, stipulating that "all citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law." This stipulation of the draft revised constitution is extremely important. It means that every citizen in our country equally enjoys the rights prescribed by the constitution and the law, and, at the same time, has the equal duty of abiding by the constitution and the law.

China's first constitution in 1954 explicitly stipulated that citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law.

The fact that all citizens are equal before the law is also an important socialist democratic principle. The constitution of the bourgeoisie has also flaunted the banner that all the people are equal before the law; however, as far as the entire capitalist exploitation system and the bourgeois state political power are concerned, what it seeks to protect are the special privileges of a few capitalists. The broad masses of working people actually have no right to enjoy this privilege. Under the socialist system, the broad masses of people in China have extricated themselves from exploitation and oppression, and enjoyed extensive socialist democratic rights and freedom in all spheres of political, personal, economic, cultural, social and domestic life. At the same time, following the continuous development of the socialist cause, the people in China will be able to better enjoy such rights. Therefore, this stipulation of the draft revised constitution will be of great significance in giving full play to socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system.

Article 73 of the draft revised constitution stipulates: "No deputy to the National People's Congress may be arrested or placed on trial without the consent of the Presidium of the current session of the National People's Congress or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, the consent of its Standing Committee." A contradiction does not exist between this immunity given to NPC deputies by the draft revised constitution and the principle that all citizens are equal before the law.

The draft revised constitution has provided NPC deputies with such an immunity because it seeks to ensure that they will play their role as

deputies to the National People's Congress even better. At the same time, it has spelled out the duties of the NPC deputies. They should maintain close contact with the units which elect them and with the people, listen to and report the opinions and demands of the people and help enforce the constitution and the law. Therefore, we must correctly understand the meaning of the stipulation that all citizens are equal before the law.

#### Seventeenth Lecture

OW030530 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0125 GMT 1 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 1 Aug (XINHUA)--Seventeenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Rights of Citizens Are Inseparable From Their Duties."

An important part of the stipulations of the draft revised constitution on the fundamental rights and duties of citizens is that it is clearly stated that "the rights of citizens are inseparable from their duties" and that this provision is made a constitutional principle running through the chapter of "The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens."

Firstly, it is stipulated that citizens' rights are protected by the constitution and law, and that at the same time citizens have the duty not to abuse their rights. For example, the draft revised constitution on the one hand stipulates that citizens have the right to make criticisms of and proposals to any state organ and any functionary therein, that the personal rights of citizens are to be effectively protected and that the personal dignity of citizens is inviolable. On the other hand, it stipulates that when exercising their freedoms and rights, citizens must not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens.

Citizens enjoy the rights prescribed by the constitution and law and at the same time must fulfill their duties as prescribed by the constitution and law. This is another important stipulation. In our country, citizens' rights are in keeping with their duties. No one will only fulfill duties but enjoy no rights; and no one will only enjoy rights but fulfill no duties.

The draft revised constitution has also changed the past constitutions' provision that "citizens have the right to work" into "citizens have the right and obligation to work," and "citizens have the right to receive education" into "citizens have the right and obligation to receive education." These stipulations are absolutely necessary for safeguarding citizens' right to work and to receive education, raising the working people's scientific and cultural level and insuring success in achieving a high level of material and cultural development under socialism.

In short, the stipulation in the draft revised constitution that the rights of citizens are inseparable from their duties embodies the integration of socialist democracy with the socialist legal system and embodies the superiority of socialism. It is of very great significance for arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of the people and safeguarding and accelerating the successful development of socialist modernization.

## Eighteenth Lecture

OW030609 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0105 GMT 3 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 3 Aug (XINHUA)--Eighteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "Political Rights and Freedoms of Citizens."

The citizens' political rights and freedoms are an important part of their fundamental rights and are the prerequisites to their participation in political life and bringing into play their initiative and creativeness. Therefore, the constitution of a country must seriously consider how to stipulate citizens' political rights and freedoms.

The citizens' political rights and freedoms stipulated in the draft revised constitution fall primarily into two categories. One is the right to vote and stand for election. The other is the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration. According to the statistics of the 1981 general election, the voters accounted for more than 99.9 percent of citizens above the age of 18. This shows the comprehensiveness of socialist democracy in China.

The constitution guarantees the freedom of speech, assembly and association for the citizens and enables the broad masses of people to exercise freedom to express their views on important state affairs, their concern about the political situation and their appeals and aspirations. This is a concrete manifestation of true democracy in our country's political life, as well as a concrete expression of the superiority of the socialist system. However, when we exercise political rights and freedoms, we should know that the rights of citizens are inseparable from their duties. Every citizen enjoys the rights prescribed by the constitution and the law and at the same time has the duty to abide by the constitution and the law. It is precisely for this reason that the draft revised constitution stipulates that "when exercising their freedoms and rights, citizens of the People's Republic of China must not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens."

The draft revised constitution does not stipulate citizens' freedom to strike. The omission is in conformity with China's actual situation. To strike is a means employed by the proletariat to struggle against the bourgeoisie. Our country is a socialist country, of which the working people are the masters. To deal with state personnel's bureaucracy or violations of law, the working people, as the masters of the country, may take normal actions through close connections of various forms between the government organizations at various levels and the broad masses of people. It is unnecessary for them to strike.

CS0: 4005/1146

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

REDUCED SENTENCE FOR JIANG QING--At a recent meeting of the CCP Central Committee's Political Bureau, Comrade Deng Xiaoping asked the supreme court to reduce the death sentence on Jiang Qing to 14 years in prison counting from the day when she was arrested. He gave the reasons as following: First, Jiang Qing is wife of Chairman Mao. Second, a poisonous snake with its teeth extracted is harmless. Third, execution of Jiang Qing under the present political situation could cause unnecessary commotion. [Text] [OW251251 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 24 Jul 82]

CSO: 4005/1146

## ON STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 71-73

[Article by Huai Ping [2037 0393]: "On Hu Qiaomu's [5170 0829 2606] 'Some Problems on the Current Ideological Front'"]

[Text] In the spring of 1981, after the CCP Central Committee published Document Number 7, namely, "Decision on Current Policy on News Broadcast and Propaganda by Newspapers and Periodicals," and announced the necessity to criticize and combat the bourgeois liberal tendency, CCP leaders Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang made statements on the subject. The most complete and most concise was the speech entitled "Some Problems on the Current Ideological Front" (hereinafter referred to as "Some Problems") given by the secretary of the CCP Central Secretariat on 8 August 1981 at the forum on issues on the ideological front called by the Central Propaganda Department. The full text, appearing in HONGQI, Number 23, 1 December 1981, and its supplements and revisions, appearing under the title "On Bourgeois Liberalism and Others" in HONGQI, Number 8, 16 April 1982, together serve as the political study material of China's mainland populace. In the study movement, the literary and artistic workers are naturally the first to bear the brunt. To demonstrate the point, the most recent issue (Number 5) of WENYI BAO published the author's latest revision. (Actually, it combines the two Hu articles in HONGQI mentioned above). The author wrote the following foreword: "This speech has been published several times. Before each publication, the author made certain revisions and supplements. Now, when it is again to be published by WENYI BAO and as a monograph by the People's Publishing House, the author has made some additional revisions and supplements. Therefore, there are many differences between the present version and the first published text."

According to information from Beijing, the publication of the article "possesses a crucial guiding significance in people's further understanding and study of the present situation on the ideological front." That the CCP still propagandizes the republication of the article so vigorously 9 months after the speech was given indicates that the movement against



bourgeois liberalism will continue. Therefore, there is the necessity to explore the article. The following are my comments after reading it.

### Is "Rightism" the Main Current Today?

What is Hu's interpretation of today's ideological reality? He declares: "Indeed, from the Third Plenary Session to the Sixth, the Party Central Committee stressed the rectification of the 'leftwing' guiding ideology. The bulletin of the Sixth Plenary Session pointed out that the meeting this time had completed the historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding ideology, i.e., it had completed the task of rectifying the 'leftwing' mistakes in the party's guiding ideology." Therefore, the main issue today is "the bourgeois liberal tendency in society (and in the party to a certain extent) in violation of the four basic principles." In addition, "many comrades and many organizations fail to exert themselves in combating the erroneous tendency, and a state of laxity and weakness exists."

This view is completely incompatible with the reality within the CCP and in society. I feel that, in the past few years, the CCP has been fairly thorough in rectifying the leftwing mistakes in the economic aspect, but in ideology, especially in literature, the "leftwing" poison is very deep, and has the tendency of aggravating. After the Third Plenary Session in late 1978, a large number of works exposing the dark aspect in China's social reality emerged. It was only after a tremendous effort and much prompting on the part of the CCP authorities after the downfall of the "gang of four" that the writers, scared out of their wits by the many movements in some 30 years, became bold enough to tell the truth and voice the grievances of millions. In face of this situation, the CCP leaders, suffering from "leftwing phobia," began to dish out "the theory of social effect" early in 1980, completely reneging Deng Xiaoping's promise at the Fourth Congress of Literary and Artistic Delegates in November 1979. Deng Xiaoping said at the congress: "The complex mental labor of literature requires that the writer develop his individual creative spirit. When to write and how to write can only be explored and gradually solved by the writer in his artistic practice. In this respect, there should be no flagrant interference." After 1981, the CCP pressed even harder to denounce and combat bourgeois liberalism, and criticized a large number of works, including "Ardent Love," "General, Cleanse Yourself Thoroughly," "A Ghost Wanders the Great Land of China," "Ah, Man!" and "Miaoqing." If the situation develops, it appears that the works which were once praised for consolidating the pragmatist regime will run into misfortune. There were the following instances: "General, You Must Not Do This" and "the Legend of Tianyunshan" were denounced by certain individuals (see WENYI BAO, No 4, 1982); those like Huang Gang [7806 6921], on the occasion of commemorating the Tiananmen incident, attacked scar literature in SHIDAI DI BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE TIMES], Number 1, 1982; in Number 2 of the same periodical, he wrote in "Statement of This Publication" concerning a collection of articles under the topic of restudying "Talk at the Yanan Literature Forum:" "In the 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' the 'Talk' also encountered distortion or tampering

from the 'left' or the right. By ultra-leftwing means, the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques turned the people's literature serving the workers, peasants and soldiers into a literature furthering their conspiracy to usurp the party and seize power. After the downfall of the 'gang of four,' some people considered the 'Talk' restrictions to be broken down. As a result, they could not but fall into the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism." We can thus see that the ultra-leftwing remnants equate the literature since the Third Plenary Session exposing the dark side of society with the "gang of four's" conspiracy literature. Actually, their denunciation of the "gang of four" is merely a pretext, for the purpose of attacking scar literature. If these hatchet men triumph, we can predict the fate of the writers who have a sense of justice and appeal for the people!

On China's mainland, the ultra-leftwing influence, from the central to the local government, has not been eradicated. The campaign against bourgeois liberalism is actually the result of its pressure. If my readers are not convinced, please take a look at Hu's statement in "Some Problems:" "Failing to combat the bourgeois liberal ideological trend is equivalent to providing ammunition to the diehards stubbornly adhering to the 'leftwing' guiding ideology. 'Look, anything and everything has emerged. They are all the good deeds of the Third Plenary Session!' They will thereby incite people to oppose the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session." Actually, there has been no incidents in Communist China's literary circles in recent years, and everything is extremely normal. If not criticized, few would have paid attention to "Ardent Love." That the ultra-leftists criticized it was for the purpose of demonstrating against the "pragmatists." Why should Deng and Hu permit them to pull the strings? Is it proper for the open and aboveboard politicians to let the writers (with the many supporters behind each writer of this type) who once enthusiastically endorsed them to be attacked?

In fact, the campaign against bourgeois liberalism has encouraged the ultra-leftwing influence in its outrages. The WENYI BAO article criticizing "the Legend of Tianyunshan" was actually written under Deng Xiaoping's indirect encouragement. At the forum on the issues on the ideological front, Deng said: "The convener of the Wulumuqi literature association meeting in Xinjiang was Ding Yishi [0002 0001 4258]. A while ago he freely aired his views, and many of his words far surpassed the 1957 rightwing level.... Let us recapitulate our historical experiences: The 1957 anti-rightist movement was magnified. The magnification was wrong, but there was a necessity to combat rightism at that time. We all remember the arrogance of rightism at that time. Today, some people are arrogant." Yuan Kang's [5913 1660] and Xiao Wen's [2556 2429] "a Film in Violation of Truthfulness--Criticism of 'the Legend of Tianyunshan'" proceeds precisely from this standpoint, denouncing it for slandering the anti-rightist struggle of the CCP, and charging that the exposure of the despicable act of Wu Yao, a leading party cadre (to marry Song Wei, he condemned her boyfriend Luo Qun as a rightist), is a total negation of the party's work since 1957, and that it converts people's hatred for Wu

Yao into dissatisfaction with the party organization. They and certain individuals likewise believe the "anti-rightist" struggle absolutely necessary. I feel that this view is a brazen falsehood. We only have to see the rehabilitation of more than 95 percent of the rightists in the various units of the CCP to be convinced of this point. It is contemptible for the politicians, instead of repenting, to cover up and explain away the crimes committed by them.

#### Is the Policy on Literature Consistent?

When making the speech, Hu must have sensed the contradiction between anti-bourgeois liberalism and the anti-"leftwing" guiding ideology of the Third Plenary Session. Therefore, he dished out the so-called consistency of the CCP policy on literature to defend himself. "Since the Third Plenary Session," he declared, "the party's guiding principle has been consistent, and its policies on literature, culture, learning and intellectuals are also consistent."

How should the issue be regarded? In terms of the published words of the CCP leaders, their views have always been consistent, because, steady and well organized, they resort to dialectics, discussing the "left" and discussing the "right;" therefore, one cannot find any flaw from whichever angle. In terms of the literature policy of "a hundred flowers blossoming and a hundred schools of thought contending," Mao Zedong, on the one hand, said: "The different forms and styles in art may develop freely; the different schools in science may argue freely.... The issues of right and wrong in art and science should be solved by free discussion in the artistic and scientific circles and through artistic and scientific practices, not by oversimplified methods." Yet, on the other hand, he declared: "We should criticize all kinds and types of incorrect ideas. Failing to criticize them, watching them spread everywhere and permitting them to take over the market are naturally out of the question. Mistakes must be criticized; poison weeds must be combated." (See "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, pp 388, 392 for above citations). These words should be just as consistent as the views in "Several Problems," but Mao's thinking on the necessity to combat poison weeds subsequently became the club against the "monsters and demons" during the Great Cultural Revolution. As a result, the "free argument," "free discussion" and "solution through practice" became meaningless. Therefore, the determination of whether the CCP leaders' words and their literature policy are consistent is not by their words, but by their acts.

"Several Problems" cites the views of the CCP leaders since the Third Plenary Session in 1979, with the intention of proving that they have never forgotten to combat rightism. Actually, after the downfall of the "gang of four" until the Third Plenary Session and a little thereafter, they always struggled against "leftism," for otherwise the victory of the "lack of virtue" faction in the dispute between "extolling virtue" and "lack of virtue" in March and April 1979 would have become incomprehensible. The current struggle against "rightism," i.e., bourgeois liberalism,

violates the spirit of the Third Plenary Session; it is an act of eating one's own bitter fruit. I find the following interpretation rather more rational: In the past, the CCP needed people to struggle against "leftism" to consolidate its own power. Now that its power has been fairly consolidated, it feels that the demand for "freedom" and "democracy" and the dissatisfaction with bureaucratic privileges may possibly rock its throne of power and are more terrifying than "leftism;" therefore, it must use "leftism" to counter "rightism," the democratic influence. It is determined by the essence of the CCP. If one should hold any wild hopes, one would be absolutely mistaken. Certain writers in China such as Wang X, etc. have been able to master this principle, both exposing and extolling appropriately (stressing extolling), thereby gaining advantages from both sides, resulting in promotions and continuous trips abroad. Others such as Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159] who feel that honor permits no turning back in exposing and assailing the dark side of Communist China have been blocked time and again from their trips abroad, unable to proceed. As for Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395] and Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] who have absolutely refused to make self-criticisms, one may assume their future forfeit. Thus, Zhao Xun's [6392 1416] article on "the Consistency of the Party's Principle and Policy on Literature" in WENYI BAO, Number 1, 1982, echoing Hu Qiaomu, can only illustrate the wretchedness of faddish writers!

#### An Act Most Disappointing to the People

In the more than 3 decades since the founding of the Communist Chinese nation, the basic tune of the innumerable storms, from "Criticism of the 'Biography of Wuxun'" to the current "anti-bourgeois liberalism," has always been "anti-rightism." People have become very bored with it, a fact which can be illustrated by the lack of response in the criticism process. But one may assume that there are many opposing it. According to the editorial note to "on Bourgeois Liberalism and Others," "after the publication of this article (referring to 'Several Problems'), we have received some useful opinions and suggestions from the readers in the discussions. Based on them, Comrade Hu Qiaomu has made some revisions and supplements." The opinions and suggestions are bound to include many dissents. If they can be published, it will be a great help to understanding the essence of Hu's speech. I hope that the CCP will, in the future, publish the dissenting views as well as the articles of the supporters. But then, will it be encouraging bourgeois liberalism, since the speech was written in accordance with the view of the highest level of the CCP and since there can only be approval, but no freedom of opposition?

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